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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): The great English writer, Charles Dickens, began one of his celebrated novels thus: "It was the best of times; it was the worst of times . . .". I suggest that these words form the theme of this session of the General Assembly. But I should amend them to read that if this is not the worst of times, it is also not the best of times.

2. At every session of the Assembly, we do in fact hover between the brink of hope and the abyss of despair in a recurrent schizoid pattern symbolic of the profound readjustments in the ongoing relations among nations. Reduced to the simplest level, the problems which face this Assembly can be described as the struggle for supremacy among the "haves", and the struggle for equality between the "haves" and the "have-nots". But the two are not unrelated since the consequences of one impinge on the other and suggest strongly that it is not nations but rather issues which are interdependent.

3. We open this, the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, in the afterglow of the agreements on the Middle East reached at Camp David.¹ One of the most intractable and danger-fraught questions of our century may have been moved substantially toward a solution as the result of the extraordinary leadership and personal skill of the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter. Great credit is also due to the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El-Sadat and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Menachem Begin, whose goodwill and earnestness enabled them to discover their common interest in the search for lasting peace. As with every breakthrough, how it is pursued will determine its ultimate fruits. It is our earnest hope that the road which led to Camp David shall in the future lead to the final healing of wounds caused by a full generation of unremitting confrontation in the Middle East.

¹ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed in Washington on 17 September 1978.

4. But we should note two things about the Camp David agreements—the first with pleasure and the second with caution. The first is that the spirit of Camp David reflects the spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and in that respect proves the validity and wisdom of that resolution. The second is that the Camp David agreements do not represent a final settlement, but rather a necessary framework.

5. The same note of guarded optimism applies to the situation in black Africa as a whole, with the exceptions of the intractable problems in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Although agreements have been reached in principle, these have not notably diminished tensions.

6. In Asia, the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China has added a new dimension to efforts to strengthen the stability of the region. At the same time it has aroused misgivings in some quarters, raising the possibility of fresh tensions in the future.

7. Of more proximate interest to the Philippines and to its partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are the conflicts which, unexpectedly as well as dangerously, have flared into armed skirmishes in our region. We feel that these should be settled as quickly as possible at the negotiating table on terms mutually acceptable to the parties concerned. Within ASEAN itself progress has accelerated markedly in the past year, both in terms of regional economic co-operation and in increased political cohesion. The external relations of ASEAN have also progressed in satisfactory fashion with additional prospects for further co-operation with other countries and international organizations.

8. But this Assembly is faced with two persistent problems which concern the whole of mankind. The first is the problem of disarmament, and the second is the North-South dialogue, most fittingly exemplified in the quest for a New International Economic Order.

9. The apparent lack of progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the principal actors in the nuclear drama is the dramatic symbol of the hazards which confront us daily. While the talks continue to lag, vast sums of money are being spent in the development of another generation of weapons infinitely more sophisticated and therefore more deadly than the older engines of destruction.

10. Admitting that disarmament is a slow process, there still are a number of confidence-building measures which could be taken in an effort to halt the runaway race for arms superiority.

11. Last year I proposed three measures which could lead to the establishment of a climate of trust among the nuclear Powers.² Because they continue to be relevant today, I reiterate them now: first, the achievement of the long-sought comprehensive nuclear test ban among Governments willing to participate; secondly, an ancillary moratorium on the testing or use of non-weapon nuclear devices pending the completion of a comprehensive study of their impact on the nuclear-arms race; thirdly, an agreement among major weapons-supplying nations to reduce, progressively and in a balanced manner, the conventional arms race.

12. At the same time, more direct measures could be taken once a climate of confidence had been established based on the principle of reciprocal initiatives in which an initiative by one party could be reciprocated in kind by the other parties.

13. The following measures deserve to be examined: first, an undertaking not to produce or deploy new weapons systems, which add a new dimension of escalation to the nuclear-arms race, as has been the case, for instance, with multiple missiles; secondly, an announcement that the most lethal chemical weapons, the dreaded nerve gases, would be removed from stockpiles, destroyed and no longer produced; thirdly, a moratorium on the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, and a reduction of stockpiles; fourthly, a percentage or quantitative reduction in military budgets, nuclear-weapons stockpiles and delivery systems; and fifthly, an undertaking to suspend sales and delivery of nuclear reprocessing plants which have the capability for concentration of weapons-grade material, and to forgo such arrangements in the future.

14. The need for confidence-building measures was nowhere more evident than at the tenth special session, on disarmament. It was not a total loss, for it reaffirmed the principle that, since disarmament is a global problem, the proper venue for discussions is the General Assembly. It also resulted in the creation of a committee,³ now in session in Geneva, to study the question of the reallocation of savings from disarmament to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Such a study should dramatize, and, it is hoped, convince the nuclear club of, the enormous waste of resources devoted to the mission of death which could be applied to the nobler purpose of enhancing life.

15. The connexion between disarmament and a New International Economic Order is not accidental, for the restructuring of the world economic system is itself a central preoccupation of mankind. Yet progress is slow. Since the landmark sixth special session on this subject, a fundamental resistance to changes in world economic relations has begun to resurface, which leads to the painful suspicion that in fact the developed countries are impeding the progress of the dialogue in an effort to maintain the *status quo*.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, First Committee*, 11th meeting, pp. 36-41, and *ibid.*, *First Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

³ Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

16. To the developing countries this position is incomprehensible. The desideratum is to establish a just balance in the interest of both developed and developing countries. The goal is not to rob the rich to pay the poor, but to create international mechanisms for the redistribution of growth opportunities. Since the developing countries are an integral part of the human community and their economic progress or decline affects the whole, it is not only fair but prudent to allow them to participate actively in the processes of economic decision-making which affect the whole world.

17. While a certain amount of disruption in the economic systems of the developed countries is to be expected, the developing countries feel that the costs of such disruption are far outweighed by the profits of accommodation. Surely the rise of the third world is the principal and most dramatic historical event of the last quarter of this century. Its requirements can be ignored only at the peril of world peace.

18. If world interdependence is to acquire real meaning it must be based on equality, fairness and justice. Interdependence based on the *status quo* perpetuates the relationship of dependency between developed and developing countries. While assistance and resource transfers are welcome, they are interim measures and do not constitute a solid basis for the continued growth and progress of developing countries. What is needed, and needed urgently, is a restructuring of the existing system to permit the equitable sharing of world economic growth.

19. The heart of the two problems of disarmament and of the North-South dialogue lies in the most elemental human right, the right to survive. Nothing more vividly illustrates the mortal danger to the human race than the prospect of a nuclear holocaust—a prospect that will continue to haunt mankind as long as the arms race continues.

20. But there are other, less apocalyptic, dangers. The prospect of creeping death from disease, malnutrition or outright starvation is, if not as dramatic in impact, as surely fatal for the future of mankind.

21. Though these two problems differ in degree, they are both aspects of human rights. Yet how many of us, seated complacently before our colour television sets, eating instant television dinners, understand what it means to be deprived of food and shelter or to await inevitable death without the necessary medical attention? A 10 cent increase in the price of meat can cause a food riot in an affluent metropolis, yet the absence of meat, and indeed of food of any kind, in deprived areas causes hardly a ripple of concern among the same citizens.

22. Everyone in this Assembly subscribes to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; nobody can doubt that, although it is a matter for regret that some have delayed ratification of the implementing Covenants. What is in question is not so much human rights as the priority of choice in the hierarchy of human rights.

23. Any Government worthy of the name will accord priority to the preservation of human life. This does not mean forswearing the other human rights; it means rele-

gating them to their appropriate place in the scale of that society's values. For most of us the ideal remains the promotion of human rights coextensively. But few societies would be able to do this even in the best of all possible worlds.

24. The fact is that we remain prisoners of the ideals of the nineteenth century. Emotionally and intellectually we reject the lessons of the great revolution of our own time, for the revolution of the third world requires adjustments, not in our ideals, but in priorities made necessary by inevitable constraints.

25. Yet it should be obvious that civil and political rights cannot flourish in an environment of economic and social deprivation. Indeed, economic and social progress is the necessary pre-condition for the growth of civil and political rights. There is no more eloquent testimony to this fact than the history of the developed countries. I dare say that if human rights, in the restricted meaning current today, had been applied in an inflexible manner one or two centuries ago in those now advanced countries which were then struggling with the critical problems of survival—just as the third world is struggling today—most nations now advanced would have remained not nations but fragmented tribes.

26. The ideal of human rights is hardly new. It was there, just as was the Pacific before Magellan braved its vast waters. But the confused emphasis on human rights today raises serious questions, and I ask them. Are we interested in human rights as such, or are we interested in human rights for their presumed political utility? If human rights are intended to apply to the length and breadth of our planet, why are some countries singled out as alleged "violators" while others are conveniently ignored? If it is accepted that the seed-bed of civil and political rights is economic and social progress, how is it possible to explain the sudden and unpredictable withholding or withdrawal of assistance which impeded the development of the very rights economic aid is intended to promote?

27. And who among us, I ask, is without sin in respect of human rights? Who among us? Let us look at the mote in our eyes and reflect that, in the name of public order, civil and political rights are periodically violated in the very societies which champion the cause of human rights.

28. But one should not condemn too quickly the regulation of civil and political rights when this is rendered necessary by the need of the community to defend itself from the depredations of a few. To give free rein to the nihilist few in the name of human rights would mean the ultimate folly of collective suicide. In war every country defends itself through extraordinary measures. Today many countries find themselves fighting internal wars as desperate and real as the traditional wars between nation-States. These are wars against terrorists and subversives and separatists, wars against the scourges of hunger, social and economic deprivation and stagnation, illiteracy, pestilence. To overcome these extraordinary adversaries each country must calculate and apply the right blend of extraordinary measures that will be effective in protecting and promote the well-being of the majority without tearing apart the entire social fabric. It is not only possible but essential to

construct such carefully calibrated measures, and those compelled to devise them act in the highest interest of human rights and rational conduct.

29. We inhabit a plural universe and must learn to accept the diversity of customs, values and specific sets of economic and political circumstances. To compel other nations to conform to another country's values is itself an unpardonable violation of human rights. With some justification, many of us begin to wonder if a subtle form of exerting leverage is on the rise and whether the show-the-flag diplomacy of another era is being revived in the name of morality. The great pity is that naked intervention in other people's affairs could ultimately rob the noble ideal of human rights of any true worth or meaning.

30. In the increasingly interdependent world we live in, we must constantly be on guard against confusing interdependence with interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. One is as healthy and desirable as the other is reprehensible and unacceptable. Today interference may take many subtle forms, from supranational crusades for causes that on their face are altruistic to gestures of helpfulness that sometimes blur the line between goodwill and good faith on one side and undue, if well-intentioned, meddling on the other. The climate of interdependence can flourish only where nation-States are secure and strong in their sense of independence. Then they can interact with others in confidence and serenity.

31. Mr. President, we face a crowded and multifaceted agenda at this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. We are fortunate that, through the next three months of intensive work that lie ahead, this Assembly will be steered by one such as you, who is so rich in experience, patience and wisdom. Thus, Sir, in offering you my congratulations and those of the Philippine delegation on the occasion of your election to the presidency of this session, I also congratulate the Assembly on its good fortune in having you at the helm.

32. Inasmuch as the work of the United Nations is a saga of continuity, I believe I express the general sentiment when I say that we approach our new tasks with confidence and buoyant spirits because of what we accomplished last year under the able leadership of our past President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who guided us through unprecedented multiple sessions with great skill, serenity and goodwill, and the momentum generated under his stewardship will prove useful to all of us at this session.

33. The Philippines happily associates itself with the remarks of welcome that have been addressed to Solomon Islands on the occasion of its accession to membership in the United Nations. It was our privilege to be one of the sponsors of its membership, and this adds a special sense of satisfaction to the fond welcome that we extend to our newest nation-colleague and coworker in the unceasing effort to build a better and happier world.

34. May I also be allowed to say that the Assembly once again finds itself hugely in debt to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for the substantive report that he has written for our thirty-third session [A/33/1]. This report is a model of conciseness, clarity, perceptiveness and realism, leavened

with hope, faith and confidence. It logs what we have done and where we have been as clearly and crisply as it charts the course we are on and the various directions we may opt for. I wish to single out his statesmanlike reference to spheres of influence, and particularly his wise counsel that we should not expect instant and total solutions to our problems, or dramatic results from all our plans and programmes. I agree with him that it is cause enough for thanks and rejoicing that we constantly move forward and make progress—substantial if possible, modest if that is all that is possible—towards our goals and ideals. The important thing is that we never give up trying, working and striving to construct the best of all possible worlds and bring about the best of all possible times for all mankind. Mr. Secretary-General, we are beholden to you, and you have our profound gratitude.

35. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to congratulate you on your election to the post of President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you full success in that high office.

36. It has become customary for representatives of practically all States to expound the views of their Governments concerning the crucial issues of war and peace at regular sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. Indeed, the United Nations, the most representative international forum, is the right place to raise in their full dimensions issues on whose solution largely depends the future of mankind.

37. The United Nations was established specifically for that purpose. It emerged immediately after the fiery steamroller of the Second World War had driven over Europe and a considerable part of the rest of the world. Today, memories of those days are still fresh in our minds. Words fail to describe fully what that war visited upon mankind.

38. Both the generation that had to live through the war and the present generation realize that the victory won over the forces of fascism and aggression is of historic world significance. It changed the political image of the planet and brought to an unprecedented pitch the activities of forces working for peace, national liberation and social progress. The sword of justice smote those who had instigated the aggression. Such are the lessons taught by history itself—history, the most authoritative teacher.

39. Looking back over the path traversed in international affairs over the postwar decades, including the troubled years of the "cold war", peoples, Governments and political figures—unless of course they are laymen in politics—cannot afford to ignore the major imperative of bending every effort to prevent another military catastrophe which would be even more disastrous for mankind than the two world wars taken together.

40. The fact that it has proved possible to avoid a major war for almost a third of a century is undoubtedly a great achievement of the peoples. They are increasingly showing that they hate war, reject and curse it as a means of resolving international disputes and controversies.

41. Representatives of the Soviet Union, speaking in various international forums on behalf of our people and of the Communist Party, which is the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, have always emphasized the theme of peace, and will continue to do so. The fundamental law of the Soviet State, its new Constitution, declares: "The USSR steadfastly pursues the Leninist policy of peace and stands for strengthening the security of nations and broad international co-operation."

42. We are implementing that policy, hand in hand with our friends and allies. The recent meeting in the Crimea of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev with the leaders of fraternal parties and States has shown with new strength that the socialist community firmly follows the course of peace, détente and international co-operation.

43. The fraternal socialist States are justly proud of the fact that through their consistent activities year after year, month after month, almost day after day, they are making no small contribution to preserving peaceful conditions for the life and creative work of peoples on earth.

44. Yet it would be naïve to deny another thing: peace will not become more durable, détente more reliable, unless the efforts of socialist States are reciprocated by other countries. That in turn calls for a willingness, despite differences in social systems, to resolve controversial issues at the negotiating table, without seeking unilateral advantages.

45. The participants in this General Assembly session will probably agree that we have not gathered here merely to express our satisfaction at the fact that, so far, peace has been preserved. What is much more important is to mobilize additional efforts and find new possibilities of shielding the peoples from aggression and from a world conflict in the future as well.

46. The will of the Soviet people and the policy of our State was expressed in a penetrating and meaningful manner by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in these words:

"The major thrust of our struggle for peace in the present conditions is to lessen the risk of another world war, of the mass annihilation of people through the use of nuclear weapons."

47. It is indeed true that all peoples are inspired by one idea, one aspiration: peace. Yet the situation in different parts of the world is taking shape differently, for the world is full of contradictions and the influence exercised by those forces which are working for stronger international security and the freedom of peoples and that exercised by those who on the contrary are attempting to encroach on them is felt differently in various parts of the world.

48. The continent of Europe has made the greatest headway towards establishing durable peace. It is in Europe that major moves towards peace on a collective and bilateral basis have been accomplished in recent years. Several hurdles have been surmounted, one after another, in improving relations between countries with opposing social systems. The political climate in Europe today is clearly healthier than before.

49. The results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have been a fresh and considerable impetus. It is no secret that from time to time attempts are made to put the durability of those results to a test. However, détente has been and continues to be the dominant trend in European international life. And surely this is demonstrated by the development of relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the one hand and France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Finland and the Scandinavian and many other States on the other.

50. Europe now appears to have reached a stage where the opponents of détente are hard put to it to reverse the course of events. However, this does not mean that the fruits of improved relations between States will fall by themselves into the hands of the peoples. On the contrary, sustained efforts are required, and, provided States are on the side of détente, they have great opportunities for mutually beneficial co-operation in the most diverse fields. For its part the Soviet Union will spare no effort to this end.

51. Close attention is riveted today on the continent of Africa. Africa, with its 400-million population, is seething. Newly-liberated States are in the process of self-assertion, shedding the last shackles of colonialism. Following the adoption by the United Nations in 1960 of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples almost all of them have gained their national freedom—almost all, but not all. The colonial order still persists in Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, with its barbaric forms of racial discrimination.

52. How many words and how much paper are wasted in casting aspersions on the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in connexion with the situation in some parts of Africa. And who is doing all this? Those who are clinging to the remnants of colonialism and racism. Aware that what they are doing is hardly popular, to say the least, they are attempting to cover up their neo-colonialist moves and to deceive the peoples. Apparently such devices will be resorted to in the future as well. Yet, deceit will get no one very far; the peoples will know how to tell the truth from a lie.

53. Colonialism and racism must be fully and irrevocably eliminated from the African continent too. Those who want to preserve the racist régimes, which are so odious to the peoples of Africa, must realize that their cause has been lost, and lost irretrievably.

54. As in the past, we make no secret of the fact that our sympathies are on the side of the peoples fighting for their national independence and social progress. But we are not seeking any advantages for ourselves either in Africa or in the developing countries in other continents. The Soviet Union does not covet political domination, concessions or military bases.

55. When the States of Africa or other parts of the world request aid to repel aggression—we repeat, aggression—or an armed attack, they have every right to expect support from their friends. Or perhaps the provision of the United

Nations Charter on the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defence" is no longer valid?

56. The objective, inexorable laws of historical development will prevail. The day is not far off when the hour of independence will strike for the peoples of southern Africa, too, and when the entire African continent to the last inch will become free.

57. There is an area at the crossroads of three continents which could be described as a "powder keg", as the Balkans once used to be called. That area is the Middle East. Hardly anyone would dare to say that the situation in the Middle East is not fraught with the danger of another explosion.

58. What is the root-cause of such a situation? It lies in the fact that 10 years after the aggression its consequences have still not been eliminated, while the aggression itself goes unpunished. Israel continues to hold sway over territories it has seized. Unfortunately, even in the Arab world there are some politicians who display no concern about Arab lands and who are inclined to neglect the legitimate rights of the Arabs, especially the Palestinian Arabs, and to cringe and surrender to the demands of the aggressor and those who protect him.

59. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its willingness to play a part in ensuring peace in the Middle East and to participate in the most stringent international security guarantees for all States of that area. Israeli spokesmen contend that they have no use for international guarantees. This is no more than empty polemical bravado. If Israel genuinely cared for its security—real, not illusory, security—it would seek a political solution. For the fact is that with existing means of warfare the distance from the borders to which a neighbouring State has withdrawn its guns is of little consequence. What is required here is a radical breakthrough towards a situation in which the guns would be altogether silent.

60. Only a solution that would guarantee the right to independence and security of all States and peoples in the Middle East, including the Arab people of Palestine, who are fully entitled to a national home, a State of their own, can lay the foundations for a lasting peace in that part of the world.

61. All the accumulated experience, particularly recent experience, indicates that a radical and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of joint efforts by all the parties directly concerned. Separate deals at the expense of the Arabs have only side-tracked the solution of the problem.

62. And such, precisely, is the nature of the understandings reached at the recent three-sided meeting at Camp David. If one looks at things realistically, there are no grounds for believing that they, as claimed, bring a Middle East settlement closer. On the contrary, what this is all about is a new anti-Arab step making it more difficult to achieve a just solution of this pressing problem. That is why a campaign of artificial and affected optimism can mislead no one.

63. There is machinery specifically established to achieve peace in the Middle East, and that is the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. The sooner an end is put to attempts to keep it in a state of paralysis, the nearer will be the moment when the solution of the Middle East problem can be tackled with a chance of success.

64. For many years, many decades, the peoples of Asia, the most heavily populated continent in the world, have been concerned about how to ensure peace, security and possibilities for development and progress in that area. The key to this, in our view, lies in joint action by all Asian States without exception. This is particularly urgent in the present conditions when developments in Asia are revealing certain disquieting traits. It is not fortuitous that among Asian countries there is a growing realization of the fact that conflicts, crude pressure and interference in internal affairs, which not so long ago went so far as to assume the dimensions of military intervention, and attempts to pit Asian States one against the other should give way to a stable peace.

65. It is in this perspective that the creation of a unified Viet Nam, which had expelled the aggressors from its territory and is today pursuing a peace-loving policy, is of tremendous importance. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has heroically lived through all the hardships of a long and bitter war, is now courageously defending its sovereignty. From the United Nations rostrum the Soviet Union once again declares its solidarity with Viet Nam and states that the hegemonistic claims with which it is being confronted are totally inadmissible.

66. The Soviet Union favours good relations with those Asian States which in turn seek mutual understanding and good-neighbourly relations with us. Such are our relationships with most Asian States, and in several cases they go back a good many years. Along with equal and mutually advantageous co-operation based on the principles of mutual respect, strict observance of sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, we are united with those countries by our common concern for strengthening peace and security in Asia, our joint struggle against the designs of the forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism.

67. One striking example of multifaceted friendly co-operation, of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, is the relationship between the Soviet Union and India. This relationship, with long-standing traditions of good-neighbourliness, is steadily on the rise, in its development on the firm basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation.⁴ It is consonant with the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries and constitutes an important and effective factor for peace on the Asian continent and throughout the world.

68. If we do not have such relationships with all Asian States, the responsibility for that is not ours. It rests squarely on those who persist in following a hostile line with regard to our country, a line which is hostile to the cause of peace in general. Those who, while themselves pursuing hegemonistic aims, try to peg the label of hegemonism on others are making a travesty of the facts.

69. Of course, it is not immaterial to the interests of peace in the Far East and the Pacific to note what policy is followed by Japan. Unfortunately, its policy has been showing some disquieting trends. One may well wonder whether that country might not eventually step on to the path that has led in the past to enormous sufferings for other peoples and plunged Japan into catastrophe. I should not like to draw any final conclusions; yet serious attention should be paid to all this. We believe that our concern is shared by many.

70. Our policy with regard to Japan has been and will remain a policy of principle. We stand for good relations with that country, for genuinely good-neighbourly relations. However, appropriate moves by Japan are also required.

71. Let us now turn to another continent, Latin America. Its role in world affairs is on the rise, and what is particularly noteworthy is that Latin American countries increasingly seek to have an independent voice. Accordingly there are growing opportunities for co-operation between those countries and States in other parts of the world. This is a positive and important factor of international life. The Soviet Union wishes the countries and peoples of Latin America nothing but good.

72. During the current session of the General Assembly another independent State, Solomon Islands, has become a Member, the one hundred and fiftieth Member, of the United Nations. Oceania is very far from us, but we wish to maintain normal and, where possible, friendly relations with the countries of that area as well. Here, too, we regard with sympathy the aspirations of the peoples to gain independence and to free themselves from foreign tutelage, in both the literal and the figurative meaning of the word.

73. In this connexion, one cannot ignore the actions of the United States in respect of Micronesia in a bid to lay its hands on a Territory which is temporarily under its trusteeship and to make those islands serve its own military and strategic plans in violation of the United Nations decisions and in circumvention of the Security Council.

74. What follows from this review of the state of affairs in the world, brief as it is? First of all, despite the contradictory nature of the current world developments, the international situation on the whole is better than, say, 10 or 15 years ago.

75. At the same time, it is clear that the international situation does not depend solely on the state of affairs in this or that area of the world. There are international problems which it is difficult or even impossible to fit into a geographical framework. The most crucial, most burning and most truly global problem affecting all countries and peoples is the ending of the arms race and disarmament.

76. The truth which is recognized today by all is that enormous resources are being spent to manufacture engines of destruction. It is indeed a fact that in this time of peace more than 25 million men are in military uniform; and there are many more people who are directly or indirectly engaged in military production. All this represents a colossal drain on the material and intellectual resources of mankind.

⁴ Signed at New Delhi on 9 August 1971.

77. There are those who may say that something is nevertheless being done to contain the arms race. Recently, for example, a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament was convened. It reflected the determination of peoples to do away with the arms race and to direct the course of events towards disarmament and eventually general and complete disarmament. The session did adopt a comprehensive Final Document [resolution S-10/2] which on the whole is a good one.

78. The Soviet Union can note with satisfaction that many ideas that it proposed became an organic part of the Final Document. Like all those who are not merely paying lip-service to disarmament but are actually seeking disarmament, we believe that the decisions taken at the special session must be translated into the language of practical deeds by States, failing which they will remain empty phrases.

79. If one is to take a sober view of things, one must recognize, however, that the arms race has not diminished one whit. A group of States—and everyone knows which—has decided to earmark huge additional appropriations for an arms build-up over many years to come. The decision taken by the North Atlantic Council session of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Washington and the subsequent steps to intensify military preparations in a number of countries can only be interpreted as a challenge to those who are working for disarmament.

80. Regardless of all the attempts of the instigators of the arms race to make things look as if the security of States will be all the more reliable the bigger their military arsenals are, the facts are quite different. As the number of weapons grows, as new and ever more destructive types of weapons emerge, the risk of war also increases. People will not accept any excuses such as references to a "threat from the USSR". Such references are completely spurious.

81. Who but the Soviet Union is making one proposal after another designed to halt the arms race, to check it from this or that angle, and to prevent the development of new means of warfare? And who is rejecting these proposals out of hand? The opponents of disarmament are doing this.

82. By now—and Western statesmen recognize this—there exists an approximate equality or parity in weapons. The Soviet Union—and we reaffirm this—does not intend to change this correlation in its favour. What is more, we have been and are proposing now that the levels of military confrontation be reduced—that is, that the security of each and every one be ensured with lesser quantitative and qualitative parameters of armaments and armed forces.

83. As was clearly emphasized by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "... there is no type of armaments, and above all weapons of mass destruction, that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to see limited and banned reciprocally, in agreement with other States, and then eliminated from the arsenals".

84. Our country has a comprehensive programme for curtailing the arms race. Our proposals were put forward

here in the United Nations only a few months ago.⁵ It will be recalled that they will remain the subject of further discussion in various bodies dealing with disarmament. We shall never tire of taking such initiatives, and they will not become tarnished because of this, since the need for specific action in all the sectors of the struggle for disarmament, for the prevention of another war, is increasing rather than diminishing.

85. In circumstances where the arms race is being stepped up and the world is sliding downhill in this respect, the first thing to do is to stop completely and further quantitative and qualitative build-up of arms. Clearly, this applies above all to States with large military potentials.

86. It will be recalled that on a practical plane the Soviet Union has urged the discussion of a set of sweeping measures which could be carried out within a specified limited period: cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons; cessation of the production, and prohibition of, all other types of weapons of mass destruction; cessation of the development of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive capability; renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council, and by countries which have military agreements with them, of the expansion of their armies and the build-up of their conventional armaments. We expect those proposals to be treated seriously and to be examined in practical terms.

87. The greatest threat to peace—and this is something that is now recognized everywhere—stems from the nuclear-arms race. Consequently, priority should be given to nuclear disarmament. On this matter we see eye to eye with most States of the world, including the developing countries.

88. Why is it not possible to couch in treaty language an obligation by States to discontinue the production of all types of nuclear weapons so as to move then to a gradual reduction of their stockpiles, and all the way to their complete destruction? But such obligations cannot materialize out of thin air; they are produced in the course of negotiations—and we have been insisting on the necessity for such negotiations.

89. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, what is required is that all the nuclear Powers as well as a certain number of non-nuclear States get together at a conference table and that an exact date for the beginning of the negotiations be set. And this session of the General Assembly should have its say in this regard and make an appropriate appeal to all the nuclear Powers in the first place.

90. Any major task, and particularly that of nuclear disarmament, calls for maximum realism once you have begun to tackle it. In the world of today it is inconceivable that such a task can make any headway unless action is taken at the same time to strengthen political and international legal guarantees for the security of States. In this connexion, the proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is becoming ever more urgent.

⁵ See document A/S-10/AC.1/4.

91. While emphasizing as a great achievement of the peoples the fact that peace has been preserved for more than a third of a century now, we should not forget even for an instant how great are the dangers that lie in wait for mankind. Fully to deliver the peoples from the threat of nuclear war: this is what underlies our proposal.
92. The same purpose is served by concrete initiatives of the Soviet Union, and today we are stressing them again, expecting that they will elicit the understanding and support of the General Assembly.
93. What is involved here in the first place is the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States; and secondly, the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of States where there are no such weapons at present.
94. It will be recalled that recently our country has taken a step conducive to instilling among non-nuclear States greater confidence in their security. The Soviet Union has declared that it will never use nuclear weapons against countries which renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and which do not have them on their territory.
95. Following our lead, the United States and the United Kingdom, for their part, have made declarations to the effect that they would not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States. On the whole, this could be regarded as a positive fact, were not such declarations replete with all kinds of reservations rendering them valueless.
96. The Soviet Union has not confined itself to a solemn declaration regarding the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States which renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territory. We have expressed our readiness—and this still stands—to enter into special agreements to that effect with any of those countries. The USSR calls upon all the other nuclear Powers to act in a similar manner and to assume corresponding obligations.
97. At the same time, it is clear that, if the problem of safeguarding non-nuclear States from the use of nuclear weapons against them is to be tackled in the most effective manner, agreed guarantees on the part of the nuclear Powers and a multilateral arrangement are required. In other words, it is necessary that we have an international agreement based on a pledge by those Powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States parties to such an agreement provided the latter do not produce, acquire or have such weapons on their territory. A similar obligation could be extended to armed forces and installations under the jurisdiction and control of non-nuclear States—that is, to make it even more sweeping in scope.
98. Do non-nuclear States stand to benefit from their participation in an international agreement of this kind? Of course they do. They would be provided with security guarantees universally formalized in international law, whereas they themselves would not be required to do anything but strictly to observe their non-nuclear status. At the same time, this would be to everyone's advantage, for the threat of a nuclear conflict would diminish, and the climate throughout the world would improve.
99. Taking all this into consideration and in response to a relevant appeal of the United Nations General Assembly at its tenth special session, on disarmament, the Soviet Union has proposed the inclusion in the agenda for this session, as an important and urgent matter, of an item entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States" [A/33/241]. Seeking to put things on a practical footing from the outset, we have also submitted the draft text of such a convention [*ibid.*].
100. We feel that one of the merits of our initiative is that, given the goodwill of States, and of course of the nuclear States above all, it may yield practical results fairly soon. Following discussion on this question at the current session of the General Assembly, the Committee on Disarmament could immediately proceed to negotiate the text of the convention so that it would as soon as possible be open to signature by all States of the world.
101. I should like to turn now to our second proposal, concerning the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present. It can hardly be disputed that this is a reliable way to prevent nuclear weapons from spreading all over the globe.
102. Here, too, we take into account the point of view expressed by a large group of States. Many countries are becoming increasingly aware of the risks stemming from nuclear weapons and they are not at all eager to have them on their territories.
103. In our view, this could be achieved through an international agreement to be based on a clear and simple pledge by the nuclear Powers not to station nuclear weapons on territories where there are no such weapons at present. Such an obligation would cover all types of nuclear weapons—warheads, bombs, shells, mines and so on—whether deployed as combat systems or kept in depots and storage facilities. At the same time, non-nuclear countries would formalize their intention to refrain from any steps which directly or indirectly could lead to the presence of nuclear weapons on their territories.
104. If all the nuclear Powers were to agree not to station nuclear weapons where there are no such weapons at present—and our country has already declared its willingness to do so—it would not be too difficult to reach international agreement. The Soviet Union would like to hope that the United Nations General Assembly will respond favourably to its proposal.
105. The implementation of the initiatives which we are putting forth at this session would also result in a much stronger régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons without affecting in any way the possibilities of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. By the same token, our proposals, which are consonant with the idea of creating nuclear-free zones, provide even greater leeway for putting these ideas into practice through the collective or individual efforts of States.

106. The need to prevent the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction is being increasingly felt. Upon our initiative, the Committee on Disarmament has started negotiations to that effect; but these negotiations are proceeding very slowly. The Soviet Union is in favour of the reaching of agreement on this extremely important matter and of the stepping up of the preparation of special agreements on individual types of weapons wherever necessary.

107. This applies first and foremost to such inhuman weapons as the neutron weapon. The situation would become much more dangerous if the plans for its production, stockpiling and deployment materialized. It is in the interests of peace that those plans be irrevocably abandoned.

108. Rapid progress in military science and technology—this frenzy of armament, so to say—is increasing the risk that a point could be reached beyond which it would become absolutely impossible to verify compliance with the existing arms limitation agreements or those in the process of preparation.

109. Wherever disarmament negotiations are taking place and whoever the participants are, our line is directed towards achieving concrete results. An early conclusion of the Soviet-American talks on limiting strategic offensive arms is of particular importance. The essence of the problem lies in setting limits for the deployment of the most dangerous and destructive types of armaments, to be followed by negotiations with a view to a substantial decrease in their levels.

110. It is to be hoped that a sober-minded and well-considered line in United States policy with regard to this extremely important matter will prevail, because a new agreement is needed equally by the Soviet Union, the United States and the world at large.

111. Many countries on various continents welcomed the beginning of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on certain questions related to the problem of disarmament and the cessation of the arms race, including the talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean and on the limitation of the sales of conventional weapons.

112. Positive results could have been achieved long ago at the talks concerning the Indian Ocean. However, ever since last February they have been "frozen"—through no fault of ours. This is giving concern to many States which cherished hopes that the talks would help turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

113. What is required, in the first place, to limit the sales of conventional armaments and their transfer to other countries? The political basis for solving this question is to be found in criteria of international law which would take care both of the task of limiting arms sales and of the legitimate interests of peoples fighting against aggression, for their freedom and independence.

114. Of late, some progress has been achieved at the negotiations between the USSR, the United States of

America and the United Kingdom on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. It has been agreed that the treaty under preparation must impose a ban on any test explosions of nuclear weapons in any environment. It is all the more important to bring these negotiations to a successful conclusion. But for some reason or other our negotiating partners are stalling.

115. It is in all earnestness that the Soviet Union has been raising the question of limiting conventional armaments and armed forces. Even today the role of conventional armaments is quite important, while the efforts by States to limit them are insufficient.

116. No real headway has yet been made at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Throughout the talks we have witnessed one and the same line pursued by our Western partners: "You socialist countries", they say, "should reduce more and we less". Of course there is no proof—there could not possibly be any proof—that such a unilateral approach is justified. This is nothing but an artificial piling up of obstacles.

117. Our position is simple: without effecting any changes in the correlation of armaments and armed forces, their level should none the less be reduced by both sides. Some people who want to inflict damage on the socialist countries by changing the ratio of forces in favour of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ought to curb their appetites.

118. The socialist countries have recently put forward in Vienna new proposals whose constructive nature is recognized even in the West. We are expecting a practical and positive response to them.

119. In connexion with the problem of disarmament, it is appropriate to stress how acute are the problems of economic development of many countries which are asking for assistance. They are compelled to overcome great difficulties. Suffice it to say that according to United Nations data 1.5 billion people, that is to say over one third of mankind, are deprived of elementary medical attention, while some 700 million people suffer from systematic malnutrition. At the same time, enormous amounts of money, unprecedented in history, are being wasted on war preparations. And, what is more, military appropriations continue to swell.

120. The Soviet Union has for a long time been proposing that military budgets, primarily those of the States which are permanent members of the Security Council, be reduced by a certain percentage, and that part of the funds thus saved be used to provide assistance to developing countries. This would be a major step of tremendous importance. Yet, what are we told in reply is that before cutting down military budgets they should be made the subject of study. But such a study could last for decades, and go on and on. To reduce means to reduce military budgets without any red tape—even under a pseudo-scientific cover. This calls for a political decision.

121. In order to overcome the stalemate, we propose that an agreement be reached on the reduction by States having

a large economic and military potential of their military budgets, not in terms of percentage points but in absolute figures of analogous magnitude. Such reduction could begin as early as in the coming fiscal year and cover a period of three years, with 10 per cent of the funds released as a result of reductions being channelled towards increasing aid to developing countries.

122. It must be emphatically stressed that the reduction of military budgets is being given priority not only as an urgent task but also as one which can fairly easily lend itself to solution—provided, of course, there is a desire to solve it.

123. The peoples of the whole world would heave a sigh of relief if the burden of taxation were reduced. Today, many are reflecting upon the causes for which some States—and not least the economically developed ones—are experiencing economic upheavals. Our answer is as follows: instead of throwing away immense material values on the conveyers which are continuously producing missiles, tanks, planes, guns and other means of killing people, these resources should be diverted to peaceful purposes. The resources thus released could be used to improve the living standards of the peoples of the world, to satisfy their primary needs such as housing, better medical care, education and science, and finally simply to combat famine.

124. All this emphasizes the great responsibility for solving the problems that face mankind in the field of disarmament, a responsibility which rests primarily with those who determine the policies of States and their line in international affairs.

125. So, from whatever angle one views the problem of ending the arms race and of disarmament, the Soviet Union is ready to seek appropriate international arrangements. We have submitted concrete proposals to that effect. Naturally, we shall be willing to consider the proposals of other States, too, aimed at achieving this historic task.

126. The Soviet Union appreciates the efforts by non-aligned States to help get the disarmament problem off the ground. The activity of the non-aligned countries in this direction, just as in other areas of the struggle for peace, is growing, and that is a positive phenomenon in international life.

127. The General Assembly can do a good service to peace if it facilitates the convening of a world disarmament conference. It is at such a forum that decisions binding on States could be adopted.

128. It is all to the good that the United Nations is now more actively involved with questions of disarmament. This helps to put the relevant talks more in the limelight of public opinion. Let those who are spurring on the arms race, contrary to the will of the peoples, feel ill at ease. Everywhere in the world a moral atmosphere should be created which would make the opponents of disarmament feel pilloried.

129. There is no people that does not crave peace. As to the Soviet people, we can say with full responsibility that it does not seek war, nor will it start one. This applies fully to

our friends and allies as well. But outside the socialist community, too, there is no people that does not want peace. We are convinced of that. In States that pursue a militarist course the watershed lies not between the peoples themselves, but when the peoples, on the one hand, and the leaders at the helm of policy-making in these States, who have sold their heart and soul to the interests of small groups which are deriving profits from military production.

130. States are faced with a great many international problems, whose number and complexity are unlikely to diminish with time. But what are the conditions and what is the atmosphere in which it is easier to solve those problems? Clearly, it is easier in the atmosphere of détente in the world, not in conditions of an aggravated situation, in a heated atmosphere. This is proved by the experience of many years.

131. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, no matter what contrived pretext is used to violate it, has been and remains a corner-stone of international life, of the further progress of détente. Every people that respects itself and every State with self-esteem has given and will always give decisive rebuffs to such attempts. The Soviet Union has not tolerated and never will tolerate interference in its internal affairs.

132. The course of Soviet foreign policy for peace, détente and disarmament is a firm course. It stems from the fundamental requirements of the social system of our State, expresses the will of the entire Soviet people, and translates into reality the directives and principles adopted by congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

133. Despite the complexity of the international situation, the Soviet people are looking to the future with optimism. Our confidence rests on the fact that the will of the peoples for peace is indomitable, that the forces favouring the maintenance and consolidation of peace prevail over those who would like to turn the course of world events in the opposite direction.

134. Assessing world developments in this manner, we ourselves are ready to work without respite, and we call upon all other States to be ready to do the same, notably within the walls of the United Nations, to bring all peoples closer to a reliable peace and to make impregnable and invincible the buttress built against war.

135. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):⁶ The Federal Republic of Germany at present holds the presidency of the European Community and in the European Political Co-operation. Therefore, I should like to begin, Sir, by addressing you in my capacity as the spokesman of the nine member countries of the European Community. Let me first carry out a particularly pleasant duty by congratulating you on your assuming your high office. In you we greet the distinguished representative of a country with which the members of the Community maintain close and friendly relations. I am confident that you will give the thirty-third session of the General Assembly firm and effective leadership.

⁶ Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

136. We also congratulate the outgoing President, who was probably the first to preside over four General Assembly sessions—the thirty-second regular session and the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions. During those sessions we were able to admire the skill with which he guided the proceedings and conducted negotiations.

137. Our Community also thanks the Secretary-General, who has continuously and untiringly placed himself at the service of the United Nations. We appreciate his efforts to manage the many divergent trends and currents within our Organization for the benefit of us all.

138. It gives me special pleasure to welcome a new Member in our midst—Solomon Islands. With the admission of every new Member we are moving ever closer to our common aim of the universality of the United Nations.

139. The world today is in a state of transition, with two realities and philosophies in conflict with one another. The one reality is that of power politics. It finds expression in a gigantic arms build-up, which is constantly escalating and spreading to more and more regions, including regions of the third world. Behind this is the obsolete idea that a State can best safeguard its interests by force and by striving for predominance.

140. The other, the new, reality is global interdependence. Today, all States need reliable access to the markets of others, to the technology of others, to the raw materials of others. They all need the growth of others to stimulate their own growth. They need co-operation in the fight against international terrorism. They need co-operation to protect the threatened ecological balance.

141. In our complex world, however, this cannot be achieved by means of power politics. Force means chaos and destruction; force means bondage and loss of freedom for all. But co-operation for everyone's benefit can result only from an order that is accepted by all nations because all nations consider it to be just and because it is in their own interest to contribute to it.

142. It is this perception that engenders a new international consciousness and awareness. It is nourished by respect for the independence and equality of States, by joint decisions and joint responsibilities of all, by the settlement of conflicts through negotiation and the reconciliation of interests.

143. It is this consciousness that will determine the future. No one can turn back the wheel of history, however strong and powerful he may be. This world of ours, confronted as it is with huge common tasks, cannot but drift into self-destruction if countries still persist in trying to steer its fortunes by outmoded power politics.

144. This new consciousness, this awareness of interdependence, gave birth to the Europe of the Community, which believes in a future of equality and partnership all over the world. The Europe we are building aims at realizing the great idea of the dignity and rights of man. It is by its very nature a democratic Europe. It is open to other European democracies, and we are looking forward to the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain, making the Community of

nine members soon a community of twelve. We feel ourselves linked with those European democracies which for reasons of historical tradition or other reasons have not, or have not yet, become members of the Community.

145. However, the Europe of the nine is not an inward-looking community. Indeed, it endeavours in the wider world as well to promote peace and the welfare of all. It is the biggest trading partner in the world, especially for the third world, and it is the biggest donor of development assistance. It wants to be a centre of co-operation in the world, and it sees itself on the side of those who seek to create an order for that co-operation founded on equality and partnership.

146. We want one world in which the nations will meet the challenge of global interdependence through global co-operation. But we by no means want a uniform world—quite the contrary; we want a world in which all nations can themselves determine their political, economic and cultural ways of life. Mankind needs diversity if its creative forces are not to fade away.

147. The European Community is founded on respect for the equality of all its members and on the principle of joint decision-making. On the strength of these qualities and principles it can serve as an example for a global order giving all States, big and small, the same right and the same opportunity to play a part in the shaping of their common future. It can also serve as an example of the countries of a region forming an association and combining their efforts so as to accomplish the tasks at hand and to strengthen the independence, the political stability and the economic growth of that region.

148. We are glad to see that the idea of regional association among States with equal rights is gaining ground in all parts of the world, and we support this trend.

149. Under the Lomé Convention⁷ we are co-operating with 53 African, Pacific and Caribbean States. Another expression of the new form of interregional co-operation is the Euro-Arab dialogue, with which both sides are pursuing the common goal of placing the interdependence of the two regions on a stable basis of comprehensive and long-term co-operation. In Asia, the Europe of the Community is establishing ever closer links with the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

150. We follow with great interest also the work of other regional organizations, in particular, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States.

151. The Europe of the Community welcomes the fact that the People's Republic of China is becoming more outward-looking, as is in keeping with its size and its political weight. The trade agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Community expresses the desire of both sides constantly to expand their economic relations and exchanges.

152. It is now my privilege to describe the role of the Europe of the Community in the world and thus our

⁷ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

position on the central issues up for discussion at this thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

153. As in previous years the conflicts in Africa and the Middle East again figure prominently on the agenda. With both those regions the Europe of the Community is most closely connected. We have a vital interest in the peaceful settlement of those conflicts.

154. In large parts of Africa peace has been seriously disrupted. Many African States are in the difficult process of nation-building. In southern African an end to racial discrimination and independence for Namibia are still to be achieved. Thus Africa is confronted with the difficult task of settling internal and external conflicts by peaceful means and at the same time promoting its economic development. The rest of the world must assist Africa in this task. But, instead, conflicts are being aggravated by outside Powers which use the opportunities provided by those conflicts to establish new spheres of influence in Africa. Africa needs peace and Africa needs economic development. It needs, as the Nigerian Head of State said at the Fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978: "... massive economic assistance ... and not military hardware for self-destruction and sterile ideological slogans".

155. We, the members of the Community, support the countries of Africa in their quest for peaceful development. We do not seek to impose our political and social system on Africa. We want to see an independent and united Africa whose nations will find African solutions and answers to African questions and problems. And with that Africa we want to co-operate on a basis of partnership, that is, on a basis of equality.

156. In Namibia—after a hopeful development had begun—we are now confronted with a serious situation. The nine members most deeply regret the decision taken by the South African Government to hold elections in Namibia without the United Nations being involved. We are disappointed at this unilateral step taken by the Government of South Africa. Its action brings forth great dangers, for Namibia and, beyond that, for the whole of southern Africa. South Africa in this way is playing into the hands of those who advocate violent solutions in southern Africa.

157. Over the last 18 months efforts have been made in dogged and persevering negotiations within the framework of the United Nations to pave the way for Namibia to gain independence by peaceful means. Thanks to the understanding and goodwill of all parties concerned it has proved possible time and again to overcome deadlock, crises and setbacks. The South African Government has now conjured up a new serious crisis which calls into question all the efforts undertaken so far. Where the negotiations had helped so far to develop an atmosphere of confidence, understanding and readiness for compromise, the old differences are now re-emerging. The results achieved in laborious and complex negotiations involving African States as responsible participants—in particular the front-line States—are in jeopardy.

158. The Europe of the Community supports the appeal made by the Secretary-General to continue efforts to

achieve a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem on the basis of Security Council resolution 431 (1978) and on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General.⁸ We are convinced that the report by the Secretary-General is in line with the Western plan for Namibia.

159. The Community urgently appeals to the South African Government to consider the far-reaching consequences of its action. The new South African Government to be formed in the next few days is faced with a historic responsibility. The five Western members of the Security Council—Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany—yesterday decided to ask for a meeting of the Security Council in the course of this week and they expect that at that meeting the Waldheim report will be accepted. Such a decision should give an opportunity to the new Government of South Africa to reconsider its position, as we have requested it to do. It will then have an opportunity to put developments back on the right track, on a positive track. Without the participation of all political forces in Namibia and without the involvement of the United Nations, a peaceful, internationally recognized settlement is not possible.

160. The dangerous situation produced by South Africa constitutes a challenge to the people of Namibia, to the United Nations and to all those who struggle to achieve a peaceful and internationally recognized solution to the Namibia problem. Furthermore the opportunity—and nobody should overlook this—to set an example for the peaceful solution of other problems in southern Africa would be missed.

161. With regard to Zimbabwe, the members of the Community hope that in spite of all difficulties it will still be possible even at this late hour to arrive at a peaceful settlement with the participation of all parties involved. We are convinced that the British-American plan for Rhodesia⁹ still offers the most realistic possibility for peaceful transition to independence. The European Community is ready to offer its aid for development to a Zimbabwe which will substitute for the present minority régime an internationally accepted democratic majority Government.

162. The nine members of the Community are urgently pressing for peaceful and rapid change in the system of *apartheid* in South Africa itself. That system of racial discrimination is contrary to everything in which the Europe of the Community believes. South Africa is a multiracial society. That society can find a peaceful future only in a State that guarantees the enjoyment of human rights to all and ensures that all can live together as equal citizens.

163. We appeal to the future Prime Minister who will be elected shortly to make a new beginning here, too. The nine members of the Community are using the influence they have to bring about a change in this direction. We are still waiting for others to follow the code of conduct for

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

companies of the Community in South Africa¹⁰ which is designed to ensure equal treatment for black and white employees. We have furthermore supported the Security Council decision to impose an arms embargo on South Africa.

164. The eyes of the world are also on the Middle East.

165. The events that have occurred since the last session of the General Assembly, especially the courageous initiative of President El-Sadat and the Camp David meetings, have renewed hope for a settlement to the bitter Middle East conflict which has threatened the security of the world for the past 30 years.

166. In view of the close ties between Europe and the Middle East, efforts to achieve a peace settlement in that region are of vital interest to us, too. This is reflected in our determination to support all efforts to bring about such a settlement.

167. The nine member States of the European Community have therefore paid a tribute to the achievements of the participants in the Camp David meetings and its successful conclusion. They have expressed their hope that the results of those meetings will represent another important step on the path to a just, comprehensive and therefore lasting peace settlement.

168. If such a peace settlement is to be achieved it is imperative that all parties concerned participate in its negotiation and completion. Meanwhile no obstacle should be placed in the way of this process, which should be kept open and should through further development and wider participation lead to a comprehensive settlement.

169. Proceeding from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which would have to be applied in all their parts and on all fronts, the nine members of the Community continue to believe that the settlement should be founded on the principles which they last set out in their declaration of 29 June 1977 in London, namely: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967; respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and recognition that in the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. It remains our firm view that all these aspects must be taken as a whole.

170. We uphold the view that a peace settlement in the Middle East will be possible only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact. This would take into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.

171. In this context it is important that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) have been accepted by both Israel and its neighbours. This must be the starting-point for any progress in the peace-making process.

172. The situation in the Middle East is inseparably linked with the situation in Lebanon. After three years of crisis and conflict the restoration of peace and order and the rebuilding of that country still seem remote. The members of the Community are still deeply concerned about this situation, which threatens not only the existence of Lebanon but the stability of the entire region.

173. Once more they appeal urgently to all who have an influence on developments in that country to be fully conscious of their responsibility for peace, and they hope that all parties concerned will support efforts to strengthen the authority of the Lebanese Government in the whole territory, as called for in the Security Council resolutions on Lebanon. The members of the Community welcome the fact that the Security Council has renewed the mandate of UNIFIL. They appeal to all parties to give that Force their full support in exercising its mandate.

174. On the Cyprus question there has still been no breakthrough. A solution to the conflict must be based on the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It can be achieved only through direct negotiations between the two communities in Cyprus. The United Nations can facilitate such negotiations, but can be no substitute for them. The Republic of Cyprus is linked with the European Community by an association agreement. The Community will continue to give every support to the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring the parties together for constructive negotiations.

175. The efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus have demonstrated time and again how indispensable is the role of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

176. The members of the European Community as well as other responsible Members of the world Organization have consistently contributed to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations by providing troops, logistic support and financial assistance. They regard it as an urgent task to appeal to the sense of responsibility of all Members of the United Nations and ask them to increase their readiness to support peace-keeping measures. They are for this reason preparing a proposal to that effect for submission to the General Assembly.¹¹

177. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has provided us with a broad basis on which to shape relations between the Governments and peoples of Eastern and Western Europe. What is important now is to work for the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act¹² in all its parts. The Belgrade follow-up session in 1977 has shown the shortcomings in its implementation, and the Community will call persistently for these to be made good.

¹⁰ Code of conduct for companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa, adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine countries of the European Community at Brussels on 20 September 1977. For the text, see document A/32/267, annex.

¹¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/SPC/33/L.19.

¹² Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

178. The Helsinki Final Act is not important for Europe alone, for détente in Europe and in East-West relations can and should release new political and economic energy to master the great challenge of our times, the elimination of hunger and want from the third world. The developing countries need the support of the Western and of the Eastern industrialized countries. There is nothing they need less than a transfer of the East-West confrontation to their regions.

179. This year's tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament was an expression of the awareness that all nations of the world have a vital interest in the success of the efforts to achieve arms limitation and disarmament. The members of the Community participated in that session with joint statements and contributions and attach great importance to its results. That session has strengthened by means of institutional reforms world-wide co-operation in pursuit of disarmament, and the Declaration and Programme of Action included in the Final Document of the session [resolution S-10/2] have established a broad framework for that co-operation. The task now is to develop further what has been achieved so far and use it to establish concrete arrangements. The Community will be playing an active role in these efforts. I shall be setting out the position of my own country in detail later on.

180. I should now like to turn to economic issues.

181. In the world of today growth and development have come to be a joint objective and a joint responsibility of all States. We are confronted with the following challenge: to build up an order of co-operation for the purpose of joint management in global economic interdependence, an order towards the establishment of which all States and all groups of States will make a contribution of their own so as to be able to achieve the dual aim of sustained non-inflationary growth in the industrialized countries and an accelerated and proportionately higher rate of growth in the developing countries.

182. The establishment of such an order specifically requires the reshaping of North-South relations. In line with the present division of labour, the developing countries are supplying mainly raw materials, and the industrialized countries, above all, finished products. But what we need is an order designed to replace this traditional pattern of exchange by increasingly balanced co-operation and a greater degree of equality in this co-operation, and to provide the countries of the third world with more favourable external conditions for their development.

183. In concluding the Lomé Convention the European Community and the States of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group have in a regionally oriented approach undertaken to remould their relations with these objectives in mind. The Convention has already proved its value in practice, and the contracting parties intend to carry it forward in a new, further improved agreement.

184. Within the framework of the North-South dialogue the Community is, furthermore, willing to help on a global scale to accelerate development and to establish a balanced pattern of North-South co-operation. It reaffirmed its

willingness to work towards the achievement of these goals at the meeting of the European Council held in Bremen from 6 to 7 July 1978.

185. The European Community is committed to free world trade and is ready to accept the structural changes resulting from open markets and to master the problems they create. It will help to ensure that the negotiations within GATT are brought to a successful conclusion by the end of this year. The purpose of these negotiations is unmistakably to pave the way for further liberalization and once more to create a climate of long-term security for international trade. The negotiations are, furthermore, intended to create favourable conditions, in particular, for an expansion of trade between industrialized and developing countries. The Community intends to keep its markets open and to continue widening access within those markets to products, including finished products, from the developing countries.

186. We are determined to fight protectionism, which is a manifestation of short-sighted self-interest and is particularly detrimental to the third world. The import planning of the Communist industrial countries is also a form of protectionism, which explains why these countries account for only 4 per cent of the third world's exports.

187. Within the framework of UNCTAD the Community is helping to achieve constructive results as regards a common fund and individual commodity agreements.

188. On the question of investment in the field of commodities, new forms of co-operation between industrialized and developing countries must be developed. We must prevent any further shift of the exploration and development of commodities to the industrial countries, something which is happening even though in many cases the developing countries have lower-cost deposits at their disposal.

189. Within the framework of its comprehensive development strategy, the Community and its member countries will increase the volume of their assistance and improve its quality. The poorest developing countries especially must receive an increasing share of official aid. We also seek to meet the needs of middle-income developing countries. This is why we must soon arrive at satisfactory decisions on replenishing the resources of the World Bank, of IDA, and of the regional banks and funds.

190. It is due largely to the efforts of the member countries of the Community that the ministerial meeting of UNCTAD¹³ was in a position to take a decision on the question of indebtedness [see A/33/15, part two, annex I, resolution 165 (S-IX)]. The Community is promoting the transfer of private capital, which is an indispensable means of maintaining an adequate supply of investment capital for the developing countries and is encouraging the developing countries' access to its own capital markets.

191. In order to ensure that direct investments contribute fully to the development process, we must at long last

¹³ Third (Ministerial) part of the ninth special session of the Trade and Development Board, held at Geneva from 6 to 11 March 1978.

evolve reliable guidelines for this field of activity. These guidelines must be designed to meet the host countries' requirement of full control over their economies and the investors' requirement of legal security.

192. In the field of energy the international community is confronted with the challenge of smoothly leading the world out of the era of oil into an era of new and renewable energy sources. This challenge can only be met on the basis of world-wide co-operation. Hence the community welcomes the resolution adopted at the sixty-fifth session of the Economic and Social Council recommending that a conference on new and renewable energy sources be convened.¹⁴

193. Simultaneously with the objective of establishing a more equitable international economic order, nations should pursue the objective of translating an equitable order into reality at home as well. It must be the primary aim of every development policy to satisfy the basic needs of all human beings. The poorest, too, must be given the ability and the opportunity to do productive work.

194. The Community considers the acceleration of the development process and the continuous reduction in the gap between rich and poor countries to be the central task of international politics in the last quarter of this century. We will fully contribute to the solution of these problems and we hope that the Communist industrialized countries, too, will begin to provide assistance on a scale commensurate with their economic potential and will open their markets to the manufactures of the developing countries.

195. The Community offered constructive co-operation at the last session of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, or the Committee of the Whole and regrets that the Committee was not yet able to fulfil satisfactorily the tasks assigned to it, but hopes that it will soon be able to continue its work in a constructive manner.

196. In the view of the Community it is, furthermore, important that we take a decision at this session of the General Assembly on how to prepare the development strategy for the 1980s. The nations of the third world cannot wait any longer.

197. In December the United Nations will be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are conscious that we are still far from translating that Declaration into reality all over the world. Millions of people go hungry in many parts of the world; millions are oppressed on account of their race, sex or creed. Tens of thousands of political prisoners languish in camps and prisons. Others are deprived of their citizenship and exiled. And among those persecuted are many whose only "crime" was that they invoked their human rights. This is the reality in the year 1978.

198. None the less, we must not lose sight of the long-term trend of history. Since the proclamation of

human rights, people all over the world have increasingly come to demand the realization of their rights, and today human rights are enshrined in the constitutions of most States. But in many countries there is a sharp contrast between constitution and daily practice.

199. Through the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and a number of other obligations, including the Final Act of Helsinki, the rights of man have also become an international concern. Today they are one of the major issues of world politics.

200. Human rights comprise civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Freedom from want is no less a human right than freedom from fear, and vice versa. The United Nations has created a number of institutions and procedures to protect human rights. The Community urges that they should be used more effectively, that they should be developed and improved. It urges also that those countries which have ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations [resolution 2200 A (XXI)] should indeed implement the provisions of those Covenants. Signature without corresponding action is worth little. The will to implement a treaty must be recognizable to the world public and to the citizens of the country concerned.

201. I should like now to add some remarks on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany.

202. Ever since it came into being, the Federal Republic of Germany has pursued a foreign policy for peace. All democratic parties in our country champion the cause of peace. We have a comprehensive understanding of peace: as a guarantee of peaceful, stable co-operation and of the common responsibility of all States, without which the problems facing mankind today cannot be resolved.

203. The Federal Government's policy is embedded in the nine-member European Community and the alliance with the democracies of North America. Democracy, freedom and human rights are the unmistakable characteristics of this partnership. The close link between free Europe and the United States and Canada is the indispensable prerequisite for our security. This is a factor of world stability, and it is the hope of all who put their faith in freedom and not in oppression and predominance. This transatlantic partnership is more than a community thinking solely in terms of its own security interests. It is based on the great common aims: freedom, independence, the right of self-determination and human rights, not only for ourselves but for all individuals and all nations. That is why this partnership is irreplaceable—no less so than are our values. Upon these foundations we are helping to build bridges of co-operation across the ideological gulf between East and West. We want also to play our part in steadily reducing the disparity in levels of development between North and South.

204. European union and Atlantic partnership are indispensable prerequisites also of our realistic policy of détente and a reconciliation of interests with the countries of Eastern Europe, a policy which we pursue together with our Western partners. The Federal Republic of Germany,

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1978/61*.

by means of the Treaties of Moscow,¹⁵ Warsaw¹⁶ and Prague,¹⁷ has helped to further the process of détente in Europe and in East-West relations and since the conclusion of those treaties has always been ready to assist in seeking further progress. The Federal Government will continue that policy, which of course is a long-term policy. The policy of détente must take account of the indivisibility of peace all over the world.

205. The development of the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union is of special significance for continuing détente in Europe. During the state visit which the Soviet Head of State paid to the Federal Republic of Germany last May, both sides reiterated their determination to raise the quality and level of their relations in all fields. By means of a joint declaration and an economic agreement they have again emphasized the long-term character of their relations.

206. The Federal Government also—indeed particularly—includes the other German State in its policy of détente. No nation has a greater interest in détente than the German nation, for the line dividing East and West runs right through our nation. We aim, in accordance with the Basic Treaty,¹⁸ to develop co-operation with the German Democratic Republic and to widen the contractual framework of that co-operation. We do so also aware of our responsibility for peace and for people throughout Europe. We wish at the same time to make détente something tangible in the everyday life of the people and, above all, to increase the possibilities for Germans on both sides of the border to come together.

207. On signing the Treaty of Moscow and the Basic Treaty, the Federal Government emphasized that it remained the aim of its policy to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation would recover its unity in free self-determination. Here, too, we are on the side of progress. No one can halt the course of history. It is moving in the direction of unity, not separation; in the direction of progress, not delimitation. Finally, détente must stand the test especially in the very city that lies at the heart of Europe and at the heart of Germany—Berlin.

208. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin¹⁹ has improved the situation of Berlin considerably. I shall not conceal that there are still difficulties, which both sides must help to remove once and for all—all sides must help to remove them. What matters to us is that West Berlin should be able to prosper and develop, and we shall do everything in our power to ensure that it can do so. We do not want to change the existing situation unilaterally. We are maintain-

ing and developing the ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany within the framework prescribed by the Quadripartite Agreement and we shall take care that West Berlin is fully incorporated in international co-operation. The strict observance and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement is a major prerequisite for lasting détente in the centre of Europe. Berlin is a symbol and a touchstone of the readiness for détente and co-operation between East and West.

209. In order to safeguard peace under the conditions of East-West relations there must be a balance of military power. To ensure and maintain that balance is the goal of the security policy which the Federal Republic of Germany pursues, together with its partners in the Alliance. It is our desire to secure that balance, not through an increased build-up of arms but through arms limitation and disarmament. What we want is a stable balance at a lower level.

210. The Federal Government hopes for an early and successful conclusion of the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. In a system of military balance between the alliances, the Soviet nuclear medium-range missiles should not be left out of consideration. Soviet superiority in this field is a source of concern to us. In the interests of true stability it is necessary that this existing imbalance should be reduced, including also the so-called grey area.

211. The aim pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany, together with its allies, in the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reduction is to establish approximate parity in Central Europe, in the form of a common collective over-all ceiling for ground forces and a reduction of tank disparity. An important result of the visit to Bonn of the Soviet Head of State was that in the joint declaration issued with Chancellor Schmidt the principle of parity was expressly recognized for the first time in an East-West statement. The joint declaration says:

“Both sides deem it important that no one should seek military superiority. They proceed on the assumption that approximate equality and parity suffice to safeguard defence.”

212. This principle must now be translated into reality. In order to achieve, by means of reductions, true parity between East and West in the heart of Europe, the two sides must first agree on the data basis. The discussion on data is therefore now the main topic of the Vienna negotiations and will be continued.

213. Disclosure of military budgets and confidence-building measures such as the exchange of observers during manoeuvres are therefore important preliminary steps towards verified arms limitation and disarmament.

214. The Federal Republic of Germany therefore supports all measures calculated to make the balance of military power more transparent and in this way to build up more confidence. It has played a part in the preparatory work done by the Secretary-General to ensure disclosure and comparability of military budgets. The limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and the non-proliferation of these weapons are of world-wide importance.

¹⁵ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

¹⁶ Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland concerning the basis for normalization of their mutual relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

¹⁷ Treaty on Mutual Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, done at Prague on 11 December 1973.

¹⁸ Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

¹⁹ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

215. We appeal once again to all countries that have not yet done so to accede at long last to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

216. Along with the efforts to promote nuclear arms limitation and non-proliferation, the efforts to limit and reduce conventional forces must also be stepped up. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, on disarmament, rightly emphasized this requirement.

217. The greatly increased volume of weapons transferred has become a problem of the first order. This transfer must be restricted by supplying and recipient countries jointly. The Federal Republic of Germany does not supply any weapons to areas of tension. Moreover, only in exceptional cases does it allow arms to be supplied to countries outside the alliance. The proportion of our arms exports to the third world is 0.2 per cent of our over-all exports.

218. We consider it intolerable that the world spends in the region of \$400 billion every year for military purposes. This is a threat to peace; in a world in which there is much poverty and hunger, this is a challenge to reason and to our moral conscience. It is time that this money was released and earmarked for the economic and social development of all nations, thus also serving to increase the security of every nation.

219. International terrorism has become an acute problem of increasingly threatening proportions. It can be stopped only if all countries co-operate in a spirit of solidarity.

220. As long ago as the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly the Federal Government proposed that an international convention be concluded on measures to prevent the taking of hostages.²⁰ The Committee drafting such a convention has undoubtedly made progress, and I would ask the General Assembly to extend its mandate in accordance with its recommendation.

221. The countries participating in the Bonn Economic Summit Conference declared their willingness to intensify their joint efforts in the fight against aircraft hijacking in particular.²¹ In cases where a country refuses to extradite aircraft hijackers or to take court action against them, air traffic with that country is to be discontinued. This is an important step forward and other Governments are called upon to join us in this action.

222. I spoke earlier about the task of jointly managing world economic interdependence. The Federal Republic of Germany is conscious of the responsibility that falls on it as the world's second largest trading country in carrying out this task.

223. At the Bonn Economic Summit Conference in July we promised that, in order to strengthen our growth we would introduce additional measures to stimulate demand costing about 1 per cent of the gross national product. That promise has been kept.

²⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 123, document A/31/242.

²¹ See "International Terrorism: Joint Statement, July 17, 1978", *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1308-1309.

224. In the months, indeed years, previous to that we had, moreover, already helped considerably to promote economic activity and growth in the countries with which we trade. In the first half of 1978 our imports increased in real terms by 8 per cent. They increased much faster than our exports and were considerably higher than those of nearly all other major industrialized countries.

225. With an inflation rate of 2.4 per cent in August 1978, the Federal Republic of Germany is close to price stability. It exports growth and stability, and I thank you, Mr. President, for yourself having explicitly expressed appreciation of this.

226. My country is also making its full contribution in promoting the development of the third world.

227. We are firmly in favour of ensuring a steady increase in exports of manufactures from the third world. Indeed, we see in this increase and in the corresponding opening up of markets in the industrialized countries a central element of the evolution of a balanced world economic order. In 1977 our imports of manufactures from the non-oil-exporting, non-European developing countries were up by 10 per cent. That means that they have increased at four times the rate of our national product. This amazing rate of growth impressively demonstrates the openness of the German market. The non-European developing countries, excluding the oil-producing countries, ran up a trade-balance surplus in relation to the Federal Republic of Germany of 2.7 billion marks.

228. The Federal Government has made a special effort this year and boosted its development assistance budget by more than 20 per cent. It also plans considerable increases for the years ahead, so that it will rise at a rate significantly higher than that of the over-all budget.

229. In addition, we have further improved the conditions on which aid is given. As from 1978 we are giving aid to the least-developed countries entirely in the form of grants. The Federal Government will also convert into grants development assistance loans already afforded to that group of countries, which amounts to cancelling debts of \$2 billion or more.

230. The Federal Government expects the Committee of the Whole at last to deal with the substance of its work. This body is too important for the North-South dialogue to be allowed to continue any longer to deal with procedural questions. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will do all it can to ensure the success of the Committee's work.

231. Of great importance for the future of international economic growth and development is the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Here we must above all find a balanced solution as regards a régime for sea-bed mining. It must give all States and enterprises access to the resources of the deep sea and bring with it the political and economic security needed for the heavy long-term investment in sea-bed mining.

232. The focal point of all efforts to lead the world, which is in a phase of transition, to an order of equality and

partnership continues to be the United Nations. The Federal Republic of Germany reaffirms its will to support and strengthen the United Nations.

233. The United Nations is more than a forum for the formation of international public opinion. It is called upon to act. It must become more capable of action. This applies above all to the important task of safeguarding peace. The Federal Republic of Germany feels that all Members of the United Nations should become more acutely aware of their responsibility for peace-keeping measures. No one should remain aloof where this central function of the United Nations is concerned.

234. Furthermore, it is necessary to improve the instruments available to the United Nations for preserving the peace; for example, by providing training facilities for personnel required for peace-keeping operations and keeping the Secretary-General regularly informed of available units or logistic capacities for peace-keeping operations.

235. In other areas, too, we must strengthen and develop the institutions of the United Nations. This applies also to the task of the United Nations in establishing an independent institution for the protection of human rights. The stronger the United Nations, the stronger each Member State will feel in exercising its right of self-determination and the stronger every individual will feel in exercising his human rights. The United Nations must be the citadel of equality of rights in the face of hegemony and power politics in any form; it must be the champion of the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong. The United Nations will attain this goal only if it keeps itself free from sweeping judgements, propaganda and agitation, if it is a forum in which reason and the desire for justice prevail. We want to help the United Nations achieve its great aims: to preserve peace, to promote economic and social progress and to protect the human rights of all individuals and the right of self-determination of all nations.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.